The relationships among management, governance, and leadership are explored in light of ten forcasted changes with which all will be concerned.

managing change in higher education

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Few if any persons doubt that higher education will change in the remaining years of this century. But there is almost no agreement about the direction of these changes. Some individuals expect substantial retrenchment in enrollment size, in the scope of noninstructional activities, and in available income. Some expect a steady state in which enrollment will stabilize and income for various programs will keep pace with inflation, or even lag behind the rise in prices. Still others expect continued growth in enrollment, in noninstructional activities, and in income, although at a less frantic pace than we knew in the 1960s. Clearly, the scenario for the next twenty-five years depends on one's set of assumptions.

Whatever their expectations, none of these persons doubts that change will present some severe challenges to the governance and management of our colleges and universities. As a consequence, we sometimes hear reference to the "management of decline," the "management of retrenchment," or the "management of change" within higher education, as if management were the whole of the task. But it is not; in fact, I contend that governance and management involve different structures and processes. Governance has to do with making decisions about essential issues of purpose, program, and resources. The function of management is to plan, in accordance with those governance decisions, and then act on them. There is as well a third structure and process vital to organizational behavior—leadership. Leadership is essential to decision making and provides the indispensable linkage between governance and management.

In this discussion my focus of attention is primarily on management, rather than on leadership or governance. The restriction is a matter of convenience. Limitations of space and a concern for some degree of detail compel this concentration of effort. At the same time it must be understood that the management of change is only a part of the process of change. Because management includes planning, management rather than leadership or decision making has seemed the appropriate point of departure for this particular discussion.

Colleges and universities have long been understood to embody a unique organizational structure. Various efforts over the years have been made to describe this uniqueness: organizational dualism, a community of constituent interests, a polity of conflicting interests, an organized anarchy. Perhaps none of these labels adequately describes the reality. Colleges and universities are unique organizations because they bring together a group of individuals of highly specialized competence in particular fields of knowledge or in particular areas of professional practice. This faculty constitutes the resource or "input" that produces the primary outputs of a college or university: the instruction of students, research, creative activity, and public service (including delivery of medical care at teaching hospitals). Moreover, this faculty is highly decentralized in organizational structure, the basic unit being the academic department. The department recruits faculty personnel and determines future faculty status. It decides what courses to offer. The individual faculty member decides course objectives and content, the appropriate instructional technology, and student achievement. Collectively, at the college level, faculty members decide the requirements of a degree program. And at the college or university level, they collectively insist on a deciding voice in all questions designated as academic affairs.

The one limitation on individual, departmental, college, and university decision making is the institutional budget. Faculty members produce the instruction, but they do not necessarily provide the income for instruction. When research output is externally funded, faculty members as individuals or as teams of experts may generate their own research income. And much of the public service income is provided through the work performance of faculty members. It is the college or university, however, that usually sets the instructional prices of the enterprise and then seeks to bridge the gap between tuition charges and production costs through philanthropy and governmental subsidy.

Every organizational entity or enterprise producing outputs must also have a support structure and process. Colleges and universities have their libraries, their computers, their student services, their plant operation, their logistical service, their financial service, and other essential support activities. These are usually centralized for serving the institution as a whole, and the operation of these supportive services is often known collectively as "the administration" of the college or university.

Thus, the president's task is threefold: to give leadership in academic decision making, in making decisions about the generation and use of economic resources, and in administering support activities. The task of leading the highly *de*centralized structure for academic output and the highly *cen*tralized structure for financing and for support services presents complex challenges indeed.

I take time to sketch this unique arrangement because the nature of the academic organization strongly conditions the capacity for management planning. By nature, it does not adjust rapidly to changing social conditions. The planning of academic outputs is not only highly decentralized but also highly formalized above the departmental unit. Planning related to financial resources and support services is highly centralized, but has only limited leverage in persuading departments and faculty members to embrace new productive programs and technology. Finally, then, management planning in colleges and universities is a formidable exercise in bringing together faculty producers and institutional resources.

changing circumstances for management

Change is nothing new to higher education; it has changed substantially in the past one hundred years. Yet today there is considerable doubt whether or not colleges and universities can and will be able to adjust satisfactorily to the changes that lie ahead. Some persons believe that substantial rigidities have been built into the operation of higher education and that flexibility has therefore been lost. Other persons believe that even if forward-looking and innovative plans are devised in a college or university, the decision-making process involving faculty representatives and other groups in the academic community will never be able to resolve conflict about the desirability or feasibility of the plans.

There is no way to provide answers to either the criticism of inflexibility or the fear of irresolution short of the actual experience of the next two decades. The state of higher education by the year 2000 will tell us whether or not this criticism and this fear were justified. In the meantime, the management structures of colleges and universities will have to be about their task of anticipating changing and of preparing to cope with new social expectations.

There is, of course, an inherent danger in planning for change. No one can ever be certain that he has in fact sensed the direction of change or that in his planning he has responded to changing needs. The art of forecasting social events and social behavior remains indeed an art. Yet human intelligence is not without some competence to anticipate the future based on observation of the past and experience of the present. There are certain facts that can be extended statistically into the future; the facts of demography are particularly noteworthy in this respect. There are certain discontinuities in history that warn us of ongoing or impending social change. And there are certain assumptions about future social expectations that have a certain reasonable validity to them. All these considerations are the stuff of planning for change.

As I look into my own crystal ball, I foresee some ten major changes in the social circumstances and expectations that will confront us in the remaining years of the twentieth century. Others no doubt would have their own, and a different, list. I offer my own items simply as introduction to the discussion about the management of change that follows and as an encouragement to all higher education planners to develop and articulate their own array of expected changes.

Falling Enrollment of Traditional Age Group. The higher education establishment has been amply alerted to the declining number of eighteen year olds in our population beginning in 1979. The number of births was nearly four and a half million in 1960 and is estimated to have been over three million in 1975. The number of youth aged eighteen through twenty-one years was nine million in 1960, will be sixteen million in 1980, but will decline to thirteen million in 1990. There is no question that the traditional college-age group in our population will be smaller in the years ahead.

Furthermore, current evidence suggests that the proportion of that age group who decide to undertake a higher education will also decline. It has been estimated that only about 20 percent of the enrollment growth of the 1950s was attributable to population growth, while 80 percent was due to the increased participation of youth and others in higher education. In the remarkable sixties, the proportions were 45 percent and 55 percent respectively (Carnegie Foundation, 1975). The drop in participation apparently began in the early 1970s. For men eighteen and nineteen years of age, some 33 percent were enrolled in higher education in 1960, 44 percent were enrolled in 1969, and 35 percent in 1973. For women eighteen and nineteen years of age, the proportion enrolled in higher education was about 23 percent in 1960, 35 percent in 1971, and 31 percent in 1973 (Carnegie Foundation, 1975).

Various explanations have been given for this apparent drop: the declining labor market demand for college graduates, the end of selective military service and the consequent end of service deferments based on college enrollment, and the rising charges to students for tuition and residence at colleges. No doubt all three factors have had an impact; less tangible influences probably include a loss of personal interest in the intellectual satisfactions of higher education.

In any event, we can be certain that the number of persons eighteen through twenty-one years of age will decline. There continues to be a question about what proportion of American youth will have an interest in college and will be persuaded to meet the personal costs of enrollment.

Stable or Declining Demand for College Graduates. Between the end of World War II and the early 1970s, a substantial change took place in the composition of the American labor force. While the total labor force was expanding from 64 million persons in 1950 to 92 million persons in 1974, employment in mining and agriculture was declining, and employment in manufacturing and in transportation and utilities did not keep pace with the expansion of the labor force. However, employment of the following types increased markedly: government, 130 percent; service businesses, 160 percent; financial services (including insurance and real estate), more than 100 percent; and wholesale and retail trade, 80 percent.

When one examines the types of jobs held rather than the categories of employers, one finds that the employment of professional and technical personnel increased nearly 180 percent between 1950 and 1974, while clerical workers doubled and the number of managers increased 50 percent. These rapidly expanding positions tended to be those demanding or using college-educated talent.

As of the mid 1970s this great change in the composition of the labor force appeared to have come to a halt, although whether the halt is permanent remains somewhat uncertain. Many analysts, such as Dresch (1975a, 1975b), Freeman (1976), Cartter (1976), and others, have suggested that the United States over the next twenty years or more will have a surplus of college-educated talent rather than a shortage. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (1974) has estimated that new college graduates will exceed available employment opportunities by as many as one million persons by 1985. Shortages of educated talent in the 1980s are likely in only four general fields: the administrative sciences, the engineering sciences, the health sciences, and the information or systems analysis sciences.

A stabilized labor force would be a major social discontinuity after the experience of the years from 1945 to 1975 and probably would have a major impact on higher education. The exact nature and magnitude of the effect are difficult to forecast. If the number of degree holders in various specilizations should continue for some time to exceed the number of jobs requiring such degrees, then enrollment in the related instructional programs might decline. On the other hand, in the absence of enrollment limitations imposed by funding sources or by other means, student enrollment might remain substantial and the competition for employment be greatly expanded. It is also possible that in the face of an oversupply of educated talent available for employment, many persons now working but lacking a college degree might seek such a degree as a form of job security.

It has been generally assumed that enrollment in higher education responds to the general employment demand for educated talent. If this assumption is correct, in the next twenty years enrollments will probably decline more than the number of eighteen-year-olds will. If this assumption is incorrect, then a fairly constant proportion of the college-age group might continue to enroll, while the competition for employment intensifies.

Reduced Income Growth. The current fund income of colleges and universities increased from 2.4 billion dollars in 1949–50 to an estimated $36 billion in 1974–75. The greater part of this increased occurred after 1960, when current fund income was around $5.8 billion. Thus in fifteen years the income of these institutions increased some six times, or an average of 33 percent per year. In this same period, enrollment increased some three times, and the consumer price index rose 80 percent. In terms of dollars of constant purchasing power, the income per student per year increased from $1,700 to $2,600. Obviously, there are flaws in this kind of rough calculation, but the point is that higher education income rose more rapidly over a fifteen-year period than either enrollment or the consumer price index.

Clearly, in the next fifteen to twenty-five years higher education can expect no such growth of income as it experienced in the past. If enrollments do not increase, income is not likely to increase. If research and public service income stabilizes, income growth will slow down. If inflation slows down, income growth will slow down. If prices are increased, student demand may decrease. If public interest in and support of higher education declines, then income growth will decline.

The prospects for income growth appear to depend on an increase in part-time students, a new national commitment to basic research, an expansion of applied research related to such national needs as energy supply and pollution abatement, and a growth of public service in the form of noncredit instruction.

Decline of the Research Model

It is probably no exaggeration to assert that the model for higher education development during the past twenty-five years was the model of the research university. The two possible exceptions to this generalization were the community college and the technical institute. Otherwise, in the liberal arts college, in the urban university, and in the public regional university (often evolved from a former teacher's college), the ideal to be emulated insofar as possible was the leading research university. The faculties of all these institutions were largely educated in leading research universities, and the experience of this graduate education tended to establish an academic point of view that was notably persistent in its pervasive influence.

It made little difference that from some three thousand campuses only about one-hundred were selected to receive federal government science grants of ten million dollars or more per year. The top ten research universities in the United States in fiscal 1975 received around sixty million dollars a year on the average in research support, while the next ten received around an average of forty million, and the rest of the top fifty, about twenty million each. These universities were long considered the ideal, the beacon for most other colleges and universities. Consequently, whatever undergraduate education was not specifically oriented to a profession was designed to produce persons competent to enter a leading research university as graduate students.

Nevertheless, even in 1975 there were signs that the research model of higher education had begun to lose its attraction. The expansion of government support for research slowed down in the early seventies, in fact, it came to a complete halt for a time. The number of individuals educated to be research scholars exceeded the market demand for research talent. The attention of many students appeared to be turning away from graduate education in the arts and sciences to undergraduate and graduate education for a specialized profession.

If the research university has lost its potency as a model for all of higher education, a new model will undoubtedly take its place. This new structure is likely to be the comprehensive university offering a variety of instructional programs in various professional fields, where the emphasis is on instruction, solving of practical problems, and preparing for work.

Greater Integration of Learning and Work. The demand for educated talent was so great during the 1950s and 1960s that business, government, and other types of enterprise were often satisfied to obtain any kind of generalized competence. Just as business and even government had found it essential in an earlier period to train unskilled laborers to be operatives and even craftsmen, so business and government found it necessary to train educated talent for specific clerical, sales, technical, professional, and managerial jobs. Moreover, higher education was disposed to assert that its appropriate realm of effort was education, not training.

Now that the supply of educated talent appears to have exceeded demand, the relationship of higher education to jobs may be expected to change. Employers are increasingly disposed to drop the college degree as a criterion of employment; instead they are specifying job competencies that may be enhanced by higher education but need not (except in some instances) require a degree. Thus the American labor market in the name of equal employment opportunity is now oriented toward the specific rather than the general abilities of the job applicant.

As a consequence of labor market circumstances as well as of student interests, higher education in the years ahead undoubtedly will seek a greater integration of education and work experience. This thrust will result from two forces. One will be the need to be informed about the job skills desired by the labor market. The college or university that eschews a concern for job competence in its instructional programs may well find fewer students to instruct. A second force will be higher education's need to demonstrate that its programs are relevant to job experience if it is to recruit and instruct larger numbers of persons who have already entered the labor market. Those students who have worked are likely to have little interest in any instruction ignorant of or indifferent to that experience.

Increased Concern with Instructional Outcomes. It follows from the observations just set forth that colleges and universities will necessarily become more interested than they have been with the results of teaching, with the actual competencies produced by instructional programs. To be sure, they have always been concerned about the number of their graduates who performed well on the admissions tests for law schools and medical schools or on the Graduate Record Examination for admission to graduate education. But apart from tests guarding the entrance to further education after the baccalaureate, these institutions generally expected their degrees to be the appropriate credential for professional licensure or employment.

To meet the social demand for specific results, colleges and universities will need to specify what outcomes are supposed to be achieved by a program and then devise new or expanded mechanisms for evaluating student achievement. A failure to be more specific about instructional objectives, a reluctance to embrace a competency-based instructional endeavor, may well mean a loss of students for many institutions.

Increased Attention to General Education. No failure in higher education in the years after 1945 was more evident than the absence of interest in general education. Whether or not consciously intended, instruction became either employment oriented or specialist oriented. Empirical knowledge was emphasized in the biological sciences, the physical sciences, and the behavioral sciences; ethical knowledge tended to be ignored. Personal knowledge and symbolic knowledge were emphasized; esthetic knowledge and synoptic knowledge were often neglected.

The Harvard Report of 1945 declared that general education should seek to develop in students the abilities "*to think effectively, to communicate thought, to make relevant judgments, to discriminate among values.*" (*General Education in a Free Society,* p. 65; italics in original). Although no report about the purpose of higher education was more important in the twentieth century, none was less timely either. Unfortunately, the admonitions of the Harvard Report were largely overlooked in the response of higher education to the social expectations of the years from 1945 to 1974.

Insofar as most colleges and universities acknowledged any obligation to the aims of general education, they imposed certain so-called distribution requirements on the baccalaureate curriculum, leaving students to select particular courses as they might see fit from a pattern comprising communication, humanities and the arts, the social and behavioral sciences, and the biological and physical sciences. Specialists in the knowledge or subknowledge of a discipline tended to be little interested in intellectual tradition and rational questioning and to be more interested in the details of current intellectual exploration.

It is probably impossible to determine what motivated this intellectual preoccupation in the years after 1945. Somehow empirical inquiry was expected not only to reveal new insights about the physical and biological universe but also to unfold a new comprehension of personal and social behavior. The advancement of empirical knowledge became an end in itself. The larger issues of a comprehensive epistemology and of a value structure governing the relationship of man to man and man to society seemed irrelevant or unimportant to the drive for a particular kind of knowledge.

Because the new knowledge did prove to be socially useful, there was little disposition in society to criticize the intellectual concern of higher education. The new knowledge contributed to national defense, to space exploration, to new industrial products and production processes, to the conquest of certain diseases, to an understanding of certain behavioral predispositions useful in advertising and in determining consumer and voter preferences.

However, the new knowledge did little to elevate standards of taste and to stress the essentiality of morals in the restraint of behavior, including the exercise of economic and political power. The philosophical concept of justice, long a major theme in the Western political tradition, was little discussed because it seemed to be outside the scope of rational intellectual exploration.

General education is neither a distribution of courses nor an amalgam of specialized knowledge. It is an intellectual point of view that stresses realms of meaning rather than a realm of meaning (Phenix, 1964). General education explores the dignity of man as well as his behavioral and biological characteristics. General education stresses thought as a unique human attribute of great worth and seeks to clarify and develop the capacity for thought.

It seems likely that society in the years ahead will have a new interest in general education because fundamental social questions will be only partially answered by the new knowledge. Issues of racial justice, of educational justice, of economic justice, of political justice, of international justice, of esthetic standards, of behavioral adaptation to the environment—these and other issues can be resolved by power politics or they can be resolved by power politics enlightened by moral sensitivity and principle. General education is the one intellectual thrust higher education has to offer in the recapture of civic virtue as a purpose in social conduct.

New Emphasis on Continuing Professional Education. By means of short courses, seminars, conferences, learning materials, the media of radio and television—by all these and other means, the professional schools and colleges of higher education have long assisted professional practitioners to stay abreast of the growth of knowledge and of the intellectual speculation in their respective fields of endeavor. Continuing professional education has been an accepted and needed public service of higher education.

In the past professional practitioners undertook continuing education voluntarily. They could choose to enroll in conferences and seminars or refuse to do so. Today, there appears to be a growing insistence that professionals maintain and increase their competence through continuing education. Instead of a lifetime professional license, state laws are starting to provide for a license limited to ten or fifteen years. Such term licenses are subject to renewal for a further period of time if the practitioner produces evidence of having had a specified amount of continuing professional education.

As state laws about professional licensure are modified, continuing professional education probably will become an even larger enterprise than it is today. This education will be provided both by professional societies, often making use of university personnel, and by higher education institutions directly. The extent to which colleges and universities become involved in this endeavor will depend on the extent to which they can mobilize their resources to provide such education and demonstrate a capacity to offer this service effectively and economically.

Greater Attention to Continuing General Education. The discussion of general education above dealt with the learning of both undergraduates and graduates enrolled in degree programs. There is, however, still another dimension of the subject: continuing general education. General education is not a static body of knowledge or a fixed set of attitudes; it will continue to evolve with research, discussion, and experience. Moreover, since so many higher education students enrolled after 1945 were at best afforded only an indifferent opportunity to advance their general education, there may well be a considerable number of degree recipients in our society who are in effect illiterate from the point of view of general education.

By means again of seminars, short courses, educational television, and other arrangements, continuing general education not for degree credit could become an important service of higher education in the next twenty-five years or more. Much of the success or failure of this activity will depend on the interest and competence of individual faculty members in the humanities, in the social and behavioral sciences, and in the physical and biological sciences in providing general knowledge to people of diverse ages, occupations, interests, and backgrounds.

For a time, especially from about 1875 to 1930, a wide variety of continuing general education was provided in the United States under different labels: chautauqua, lyceum, public lecture, town hall, and other designations. Perhaps radio and then, after World War II, television tended to discourage these forms. Certainly public television has inherited a major role in continuing general education in the past decade.

Many colleges and universities through yearly programs of artists and lecturers, concerts, and museum exhibitions have done a great deal to provide cultural enrichment for their students and for adults of the surrounding community. And some associations of college alumni have organized "alumni colleges," offering one- or two-day conferences and discussion groups in continuing general education. Much more can and should be done, however. The challenge for higher education in the years ahead is to broaden and extend programs of continuing general education and also to produce income sufficient to support the direct and indirect costs of these programs. Here again is a potentially expanding market for college and university activity. But the market will not materialize unless a carefully planned and effectively managed effort is made to render this particular educational service.

Pressure on Institutional Costs. The obverse of less income growth for higher education institutions is increased pressure on institutional costs. The American Council on Education has recently provided an analysis of the percentage distribution of educational and general expenditures by type of institution and by control. (Table 1). It is obvious that the pattern of expenditure is influenced by at least three factors: (1) the importance of research, (2) the importance of public service and of other sponsored programs, and (3) the scope of organized activities by educational departments. Somewhat less obvious is the factor of public as opposed to private or independent sponsorship; public institutions tend to have a larger proportion of their expenditures committed to public service and other budgeted research.

The proportion of expenditures required for institutional support is probably related to enrollment size and to total available income. The larger the enrollment and the larger the educational and general budget, the smaller the proportion of expenditures needed for institutional support.

The analysis given here does not show student aid as an educational and general expense. The recent standard reporting practice recommended by the National Association of College and University

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Educational and General Expenditures by Type and Control of Institution, 1974–75.

	Research Universities I		Doctoral Universities I		Comprehensive Universities I		Private
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Liberal Arts Colleges I
Instruction and Departmental Research	38.2	33.3	45.8	46.1	55.2	41.5	44.1
Sponsored Research	16.1	24.5	6.6	14.7	2.3	3.5	1.5
Other Budgeted Research	4.1	0.5	4.2	0.1	1.1	—	0.1
Public Service	5.4	1.0	4.4	0.4	1.4	0.6	0.8
Other Sponsored Programs	7.2	7.5	7.4	3.0	3.8	3.2	1.6
Organized Activities	7.2	11.6	1.6	2.9	2.1	17.5	1.7
Libraries	3.3	4.0	4.4	4.1	4.9	4.0	5.4
Plant Operation	7.9	7.6	9.7	9.2	12.0	10.0	14.0
Institutional Support	10.5	10.1	15.3	19.6	18.8	19.8	30.8

Source: Adapted from H. Lanier and C. J. Andersen, *A Study of the Financial Condition of Colleges and Universities: 1972–1975* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1975), pp. 95–102.

Business Officers does include student aid as a category of educational and general expense and removes hospital operations from such expense. Both of these changes seem quite desirable in terms of financial reporting and analysis.

At least three different kinds of pressures on this pattern of expenditures should be anticipated in the years ahead. There will be demands for increased salaries and compensation, especially by faculty members. Second, institutional support costs will be affected by the new reporting and personnel requirements imposed by governments (especially the federal government). Third, there will be pressure on plant costs as the costs of energy, of occupational safety, and of environmental protection increase in our society.

A fourth kind of pressure will arise from the factor of size. Size is not just a matter of student enrollment; it is even more a matter of the total scope of activity, including instruction and departmental research, sponsored research, public service, and student aid. As already pointed out, small size in enrollment and small size in terms of total income resources will probably produce a special pressure on the expenditure pattern. A separate campus by the very fact of its existence generates certain unavoidable costs for plant operation, academic support services, student services, and institutional support. Unless the total output activities are sufficient to keep overhead or support costs in a reasonable relationship to total costs, institutional viability may be threatened. For separate campuses of small size, some form of institutional federation or of institutional merger may be the only effective response to cost pressures.

The offset to institutional cost is income production, which will depend on pricing policy and the student enrollment response to pricing, on governmental response to requests for additional support, and on philanthropic support. Additional income will also depend on the extent to which governments and individuals look to colleges and universities for research and public service they are willing to pay for. Increasingly, colleges and universities will have to relate their expenditures to the income produced by their primary or output programs—a relationship that raises important issues of policy and program planning.

conclusion

Our attention in this volume is directed to the question of how management can cope with the future changes identified above. My definition of management embraces policy and program planning as well as work performance. The management of instruction, research, and public service is assigned principally to academic departments and individual faculty members. These individuals and groups of individuals will necessarily have to be involved in the planning process that seeks to deal with the emerging issues of the next quarter century.

A major concern must be the incentive for institutional change. Let us assume that in various ways (by prices paid, governmental support provided, and philanthropy given) society expresses its interest in the kinds of higher education change outlined here. The problem then becomes one of institutional response to new social expectations. Planning for change is a very important part of that response, but it cannot be the whole story.

Management as a structure and planning as a process will depend on leadership. Unless administrative leaders stress the importance of planning and inspire a continuous preparation for the future, management may very well neglect its planning obligations. And unless the plans made have some coherence, the institution's mission, balance, and viability may be jeopardized.

I recognize that both leadership and management within colleges and universities, as in other enterprises, depend on a structure and process of decision making. In the end, what these institutions will do to adjust their purposes and programs to changing social conditions will be determined by the decisions that are made by those who hold power within the academic community. If faculty members are to continue to exercise their traditional power, they will have to demonstrate a willingness and an ability to change, to respond to new social expectations. Otherwise, the power to decide may be taken away from faculties and exercised elsewhere. Such an eventuality would, in my judgement, be unfortunate for an intellectually vigorous higher education.

Until the question of the power to decide is resolved, the faculty management of output programs, the professional management of support programs, and the institutional leaders of both kinds of programs must seek through management information and management planning to prepare for change. Society expects no less. Society may even demand more.

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